1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

765 the festival. A *tuhuna* would cry in a high voice, "*To ha'a fiti ia* (name)," (This share for ——), naming the man. One of the attendants would raise on his shoulder a pig or a part of one and throw it on the dance pavement. The man named would come forward with his friends and take away his share. Some pig and other food was eaten at the feast place, the rest being taken home. The members of a family who were honoring a spirit at the festival could not eat of the pigs that were in the pile laid out on the feast place for their relative, but they could eat of the other piles that belonged to the other spirits.

Melville's descriptive of the "Feast of the Calabashes," (23, pp. 192-193) which I judge to have been a funerary feast (*ko'ina tupapa'u*), though possibly it was a feast following war, gives some excellent details regarding festivals. The appearance of the feast place is described as follows:

> All along the piazza of the Ti (the warriors' house) were arranged elaborately carved canoe-shaped vessels, some twenty feet in length, filled with newly made poee-poee, and sheltered from the sun by the broad leaves of the banana. At intervals were heaps of green bread-fruit, raised in pyramidical stacks, resembling the regular piles of heavy shot to be seen in the yard of an arsenal. Inserted into the interstices of the huge stones which formed the pi-pi were large boughs of trees; hanging from the branches of which, and screened from the sun by their foliage, were innumerable little packages with leafy coverings, containing the meat of the numerous hogs which had been slain, done up in this manner to make it more accessible to the crowd. Leaning against the railing of the piazza were an immense number of long, heavy bamboos, plugged at the lower end, and with their projecting muzzles stuffed with a wad of leaves. These were filled with water from the stream, and each of them might hold from four to five gallons.

The making and drinking of *kava* is described as a part of this festival. Melville (23, p. 196) describes finding on the second day of the feast, the area before the warrior's house, the scene of the first day's activities, "altogether deserted by the men; the whole distance being filled by bands of females, shouting and dancing." This day "was ushered in by still more uproarious noises than the first. The skins of innumerable sheep seemed to be resounding to the blows of an army of drummers." He saw

[536] [887] . . . four or five old women who, in a state of utter nudity, with their arms extended flatly down their sides, and holding themselves perfectly erect, were leaping stiffly into the air, like so many sticks bobbing to the surface, after being pressed perpendicularly into the water. They preserved the utmost gravity of countenance, and continued their extraordinary movements without a single moment's cessation.

Melville's description (23, pp. 196-199) of what he saw at the feast of the calabashes, undoubtedly giving an excellent idea of the general appearance of one of these great festivals, is as follows:

> Within the spacious quadrangle (the *tohua*) the whole population of the valley seemed to be assembled, and the sight presented was truly remarkable. Beneath the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast.

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke*, which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9).

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Père Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu*, which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals."

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

practice in the rite, for the ceremonial priest ate the eyes of the victim as he was sacrificing him. 782

Some bodies taken to the temple at these times appear to have been eaten, though informants and manuscripts agree that the actual sacrifices were not eaten. At certain points during the chanting, according to Père Jean, the inspirational priest took out the eyes of the victim one at a time and ate them. He cut open the body and took out the heart, which he ate immediately. In the same way he devoured the breast, the bottoms of the feet, and insides of the hands. The body was then cooked, cut up, and divided among the participants in the rite (19). 782 266

When human sacrifices were to be offered to break a famine at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, warriors were first dispatched to capture sacrifice victims—men, women, or children. When two or three had been seized, they were presented to the inspirational priest, adults being carried, alive or dead, slung naked on a pole like a pig. Children under three years of age were strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the inspirational priest. The drums would sound at the temple, the sign that all fire should be extinguished, and the chanting and beating of drums was continued during the sacrifice. The informant who gave this account said that when the fire was seen burning at the temple, all other fires could be lighted and cooking could be resumed. After the sacrifice rainfall and abundance were expected. 782 731 [887]

At Pua Ma'u human sacrifices were frequently made in order to bring rainfall and fertility to the land. The victims were offered to the tribal god, Tau'a-mata-uaua, who was supposed to cause things to grow. The natives say that after such a rite the whole country would be green. At Pua Ma'u I learned also that the dead bodies of victims were put in a special house for the purpose, being ranged along the wall in a sitting position or sometimes hung up to the ridge pole. When the bodies were decayed, the remains were thrown by the temple assistants into a stone hole in the platform of the temple.

Another description of the rite to break a famine comes from the manuscript of Pére Pierre (4). On the occasion of this rite the human sacrifice was burned on the temple platform, after which the temple assistants (*taputoho*) braided baskets of coconut leaves, placing them upon their shoulders, went in procession upon the mountain ridges, reciting a chant called *vanana* or *uta va'ana*. This was supposed to bring about the growth of breadfruit. In another rite to bring rain, the body of a victim was also burned. This rite, called *vaititi*, consisted in suspending the body over a fire on the seashore, the arms and legs being tied to the four posts; held thus, the body was left to burn.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

301 **Hei kakapa.** (?)
Hei konini pa'a. ***Physalis peruvania.***
192 **Hei nano.** (?)
Hei kanioka. **Cardiospermum.**
Hei tia'e. **Gardenia blossoms (*Gardenia tahitensis*).**
Hei meha. **The bark of *Rubiaceae.***
Hei niou. **Flower buds of *Siegesbeckia orientalis.***
Hei vaovao. **The blossoms of *Cordia sp.***
Hei hoi. ***Dioscorea alata.***
Hei vei-uta. ***Lycopodium phlegmaria.***

301 The *taevahei* was a large collar of pandanus seed that was worn hanging on the breast. *Kumu hei* were small packages of fragrant herbs worn pendant from the neck (8).

The *ei taki hei* (*taki* or *taki hei ei*) was a collar made of the teeth of the sperm whale or other fish (8). *Taki ei* on Hiva Oa referred to a single great uncarved whale's tooth worn as a pendant. The *poe ei* was a collar of small porpoise teeth (9). Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of a collar of boar's teeth. *Hopekeie* and *pa'atita,* defined by Dordillon (8) as opalescent plaques, are evidently the terms for pearl-shell breast pieces described by early writers (fig. 24, *b*).

A type of neck ornament, or gorget, of which I have seen no specimen, is described and pictured by early visitors (fig. 25, *b*). Cook (6, p. 310) describes them as follows: "They wear round the neck a kind of ruff or necklace . . . made of light wood, the out and upper side covered with small red peas, which are fixed on with gum." The same ornament is described on Nuku Hiva "made of several rows of little pieces of bread-fruit wood strung together" on which were fastened red and black seeds (18, 171).

A peculiar ornament is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 158) as "balls about the size of an apple, entirely studded over with red beans," apparently worn hung from the neck.

STYLES OF HAIR DRESSING

302 The plucking out of face and body hair was a universal custom. Shark's teeth, shells and bamboo were used for shaving the head. Cook (6, p. 309) says regarding beards:

> They observe different modes in trimming the beard, which is, in general, long. Some part it, and tie it in two bunches under the chin; others plait it; some wear it loose; and others quite short.

[887] This evidently refers to the beards of old men which were allowed to grow long for use in making the white hair ornaments.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

539 173 first festival (*ko'ina hakahe'e*), only the lower or later sections of the genealogy were chanted. When an individual, or when a group, approached a house or a feast place, coming ceremoniously, the genealogy was always chanted, constituting an announcement of the birthright of the arrival or arrivals. In the story of Pohu a women is described as accompanying a war canoe to chant the genealogy of the people.

The chanting (*hahi*), whatever the occasion, was always done by women. At formal festivals two old women skilled in the art were chosen—these two stood up together and recited alternately, one the men's names, the other the women's. This chanting was called *hahi*. To chant one's genealogy as one approached a dwelling was called *ta'a'au te hahi* and simple recitation of genealogy *mata tetau*. Genealogies were called *mata*.

539 173 211

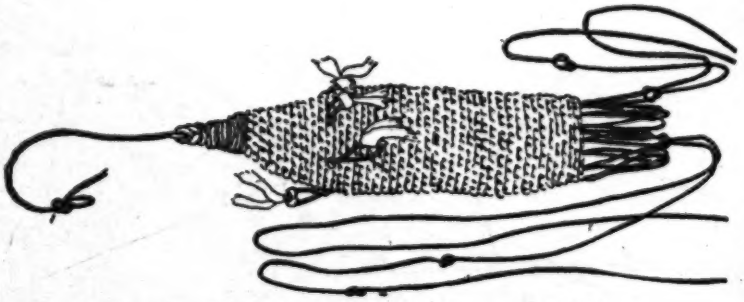

FIGURE 30—Mnemonic device used in learning genealogies.

It was the business of the *tuhuna o'ono* to know and to teach the genealogies of his tribe. As an aid to memory the natives used *ta'o mata*, memonic devices of woven coconut fiber, from which hung cords with knots tied in them (fig. 30).

539 173 An example of a genealogy follows:

GENEALOGY OF TAUAHOKAANI OF ATU ONA, HIVA OA

MALE	FEMALE
Animotua (Sky-Father)	Nohoana (Resting)
Toonui (Great Root-stock)	Tooiti (Little Rootstock)
Tooa (Long Root-stock)	Toopoto (Short Rootstock)
Toopiko (Bent Root-stock)	Toofana (Crooked Rootstock)
Toope (Bad Root-stock)	Tooka'u (Vile Rootstock)
Toohuhu	Tooane
Toomutu (Silent Rootstock)	Toomoha (Hoarse Rootstock)
Akanui (Great Root)	Akaiti (Little Root)
Akape (Bad Root)	Akaka'u (Vile Root)

/46 cont./ In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 836
men of 50 or over, the promiscuous girls are sometimes faced 833
with the necessity of coping with impotence by fellatio, the 884
standard remedy for the problem. If complete erection is
impossible, fellation is carried to the point of orgasm, or
mutual simultaneous oral stimulation is practiced. This is
apparently preferred by virtue of the fact that it provides the
female partner with satisfactory stimulation and release.

Sexual partners for the promiscuous girl, then, include 836
young unmarried males, the older males who are married and
strangers of all races and nationalities. Selection of sexual [837]
partners from this group is a rather arbitrary process, as far [648]
as the Marquesan males are concerned. The girls are gen-
erally quite fickle and seem to prefer to carry on a number
of liaisons at once: one predominant, and a number of
fluctuating arrangements of a subordinate nature. There is [578]
little if any rivalry between the males who occupy these
positions, as the girls are not valued as potential mates but
merely as sexual outlets only, and /47/ it is well understood
that attainment of their favors is a matter of patience in
waiting one's turn. In many cases, a promiscuous girl will
take two or three boys as temporary husbands and will copulate
with each in full view of the others. Simultaneous stimulation
of the female by two or more males occurs, one copulating, [833]
the other stimulating the breasts.

Intercourse with these girls is quite frequently of a serial 833
nature. A group of boys will approach the girl and make a 836
direct request that they be sexually served. The order of
service has usually been previously decided among the boys.
If the request is granted, the group will go to an available
house or an isolated place in the bush. If the bush is available,
the girl does not usually remove her clothing; although she
may receive the males in the nude if a house is available.
Foreplay in such contexts is nonexistant, except possibly for
the first male of the group. Cunnilinctus is never performed
in such circumstances, although fellation is not unheard of.
The waiting males often sit around the copulating pair,
watching and joking. In some cases, they indulge in some

/70 cont./
lapsed into another period of depression. Such behavior usually 837
results in infuriating the husband, and the wife may receive [833]
a beating, followed by forced sexual intercourse. This practice is regarded as being the best remedy for sexual jealousy, and usually speeds the re-establishment of normal relations for a time.

Sex in Later Life

Reasonably frequent sexual relations are carried on by 833 887
individuals in the sixties and seventies. Males of this age are often capable of normal copulation, with greatly reduced frequency. Fellatio and /71/ cunnilinctus are practiced. Elderly men often seek out younger women as sexual partners, as well as engaging in sexual relations with their mates.

Elderly women often indulge in brief liaisons with much younger males who cannot find sexual partners in their own age group. A woman of 65 spent the night with a copra schooner sailor about 35 years of age and was not subjected to any censure whatsoever. Another elderly woman, who had been a well-known promiscuous girl in her youth, was frequently a sexual partner for younger males, on occasion soliciting their attentions.

Sex in Humour

Marquesans place great emphasis on one's ability to in- 521 522
dulge in light, rapid-fire banter, using witticisms which span a 831
range from subtle puns and esoteric allusions of a nature understood by only one or a few of the onlookers, to what in our society would be termed the more coarse kinds of humour. Much Marquesan humour is sexual or at least related to a sexual topic.

In mixed company, under normal circumstances, care is taken to refrain from using the tapu expressions which have been discussed previously, referring to the male and female genitalia or the sex act. In such cases, the more subtle expressions and figures of speech are used; and often the conversation can be completely misunderstood. New circumlocutions